

**THE**  
*Communist*  
*Election*  
*Platform*

**1936**



FOR PRESIDENT  
**EARL BROWDER**

**EARL BROWDER** was born May 20, 1891, in Wichita, Kansas, of early Virginia pioneer stock, his grandfather having fought in the War of 1812. At fifteen he was already an active trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Party. In 1917 he was sentenced to Leavenworth prison for opposing America's entry into the imperialist World War. Since 1919, when he joined the Communist Party, he has played an increasingly important role in the struggles of the American people to win a better life, working closely with William Z. Foster from 1921 to 1926 in the campaign for a Labor Party and for amalgamation of the craft unions of the A. F. of L. In 1930 he became General Secretary of the Communist Party and has served in that capacity ever since.



FOR VICE-PRESIDENT  
**JAMES W. FORD**

**JAMES W. FORD** was born December 22, 1893, in Pratt City, Alabama, starting life as a railroad worker at the age of thirteen. He attended Fisk University, and in 1917 entered the U.S. Army. Entering the labor movement after the World War, he played an active part in building the trade unions, joining the Communist Party soon after. An outstanding leader of the Negro masses and active fighter for the rights and interests of the common people, he was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket in 1932 and in more recent months played a leading role in the National Negro Congress.

**FOR A FREE, HAPPY AND  
PROSPEROUS AMERICA**

**☸ || VOTE COMMUNIST || X**

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August, 1936

# THE ELECTION PLATFORM *of the* COMMUNIST PARTY

*Ratified at the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, June 28, 1936*

THE American people today face the greatest crisis since the Civil War. Extreme reaction threatens the country, driving toward fascism and a new world war.

To meet this danger to our liberties and welfare, we must unite our ranks. In common action we must go forward to overcome this crisis in an American way, in the spirit of 1776, in the interests of our people and of our country.

The collapse of the Hoover-Republican prosperity destroyed our boasted American standards of living. The New Deal failed to protect and restore our living standards. American capitalism is unable to provide the American people with the simple necessities of life.

Over 12,000,000 able-bodied and willing workers are without jobs. For a majority of these there is no hope of jobs.

The income of the working people has been cut in half. Half our farmers have lost their land. They are being converted into a pauperized peasantry.

Millions of young people face a future without hope, with



no prospect of ever being able to establish a home or rear a family.

The Negro people suffer doubly. Most exploited of working people, they are also victims of jim-crowism and lynching. They are denied the right to live as human beings.

Civil rights are being systematically attacked and curtailed. The Supreme Court has usurped the power of Congress. It is destroying all labor and social legislation.

Reactionary forces, roused and organized by Hearst and the Liberty League, are striving to seize the government fully. They want to saddle the entire burden of the crisis upon the people, to establish a fascist regime and move toward war on the side of Hitler, the butcher of the German people and the chief maker of war.

*The peace, freedom, and security of the people are at stake. Democracy or fascism, progress or reaction—this is the central issue of 1936.*

At the head of the camp of reaction stands the Republican Party—the party of Wall Street, the party of the banks and monopolies. Landon and Knox are supported by the barons of steel, oil, auto, and munitions; by Morgan, the du Ponts; and by that arch-enemy of all decency, William Randolph Hearst. They are the candidates of the Liberty League, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers' Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Black Legion.

Roosevelt is bitterly attacked by the camp of reaction. But he does not fight back these attacks. Roosevelt compromises.



He grants but small concessions to the working people, while making big concessions to Hearst, to Wall Street, to the reactionaries.

The working people must organize themselves *independently*, under their own banner, with their own leadership and program. They must organize a great Farmer-Labor Party to fight for and establish a people's government—a government of, for, and by the people. They must unite the forces of progress against the forces of reaction.

The secretly formed Union Party of Lemke and Coughlin is not the new party for which the people are looking. It is the creature of Landon, Hearst, and the Liberty League. Under cover of radical sounding words, its program contains essentially the same proposals as the Republican platform. It is deceiving its followers. It is the tool of the reactionaries.

But a real people's party is arising. Organized by the workers and farmers themselves, the Farmer-Labor Party is growing in the majority of states. Unable to put up a presidential ticket this year, it is organizing on a national scale. It fights for local, state and Congressional offices. It is the most hopeful sign in American political life. It is cooperating with the powerful trade unions in the new Labor's Non-Partisan League against the Republicans. It will undoubtedly be a major contender in the presidential elections of 1940. The Communist Party unconditionally supports the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. It pledges itself to work to bring the trade unions and all progressive forces into its ranks. The Socialist Party, on a national scale, is withholding its cooper-

ation with all other groups. It conducts a harmful policy of isolation. It gives little help to the people's struggle against reaction. We appeal to the Socialist Party to change its course. We urge it to unite with us and the mass of the toilers against reaction.

In this situation the Communist Party comes forward with its own presidential ticket and its own platform. It enters the campaign to defend and promote the unity of the working people. It pledges to fight for their interests, to defeat the reactionaries, to build the Farmer-Labor Party, and, finally, to win the masses to the banner of socialism. The chief aim of the Communist Party today is to defeat the Landon-Hearst-Liberty League reaction, to defeat the forces of Wall Street.

The Communist Party and its candidates stand on the following platform, which expresses the immediate interests of the majority of the population of our country.

## **I. Put America Back to Work.**

### **Provide Jobs and a Living Wage for All**

Open the closed factories—we need all that our industries can produce. If the private employers will not or cannot do so, then the government must open and operate the factories, mills and mines for the benefit of the people.

Industry and the productive powers of our nation must be used to give every working man and woman a real, American standard of living, with a minimum annual wage guaranteed by law.

We demand equal opportunity for women in industry and in all spheres of life. We favor legislative measures for the improvement of the wages and working conditions of women.

We demand a 30-hour week without reduction in earnings, at trade union rates and conditions, in private industry and on public works.

We oppose the present railroad consolidation policy which results in the discharge of hundreds of thousands of workers.

We demand higher wages and vacations with pay. We demand the abolition of the wage differential between the North and the South.

## **II. Provide Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, and Social Security for All**

It is the obligation of the American government to establish an adequate system of social insurance for the unemployed, the aged, the disabled and the sick, as provided in the Frazier-Lundeen Bill. This bill provides compensation to all unemployed without exception, and pensions for the aged from 60 years, at rates equal to former earnings, but in no case less than \$15 per week. Make the Frazier-Lundeen Bill the law of the land!

We favor a federal system of maternity and health insurance.

We stand for adequate relief standards for all unemployed. We demand a stop to all relief cuts. The Federal Government must continue and extend the W.P.A. We favor an extensive Federal Works Program, to provide housing at low rentals, schools, hospitals, health and recreational facilities,



as provided for in the proposed six billion dollar appropriation of the Marcantonio Relief Standards Bill.

We support the demands of the veterans for uniform pension laws and for adequate hospitalization.

### **III. Save the Young Generation!**

Our country can and must provide opportunity, education, and work for the youth of America. These demands of the young people as embodied in the American Youth Act—the Benson-Amlie Bill—must be enacted into law.

This bill provides for jobs, educational opportunities, and vocational training for all young people between the ages of 16 and 25.

The National Youth Administration budget must be maintained and enlarged.

Military training in the C.C.C. and schools must be abolished.

Free education and financial assistance to the youth and the children must be guaranteed by both federal and state appropriations.

Child labor must once and for all be abolished and made unconstitutional.

### **IV. Free the Farmers from Debts, Unbearable Tax Burdens and Foreclosures. Guarantee the Land to Those Who Till the Soil.**

We declare that the American government is obligated to save the American farmers from distress and ruin, to guaran-

tee the farmers and tenants their inalienable rights to possession of their land, their homes and their chattels. We demand for this purpose the immediate refinancing of the farmers' debts with government loans at nominal interest.

We demand a halt to evictions and foreclosures, a long-term moratorium on all needy farmers' debts, and the adoption of measures to provide land for the landless farmers.

We favor immediate relief to the drought-stricken farmers by the government. We favor a graduated land tax to prevent the accumulation of large land holdings in the hands of the insurance companies, private and government banks, and other absentee owners.

We favor exemption from taxation of small operating farmers and farm cooperatives.

We are unalterably opposed to the policy of crop destruction and curtailment.

We support government regulation of farm prices with the aim of guaranteeing to the farmer his cost of production. We urge scientific soil conservation under supervision of the elected representatives of farmers' organizations, with compensation to farmer-owners and tenants for loss of income.

## **V. The Rich Hold the Wealth of Our Country; Make the Rich Pay**

We demand that social and labor legislation shall be financed and the budget balanced by taxation of the rich. We are opposed to sales taxes in any form, including processing taxes, and call for their immediate repeal. The main source

of government finance must be a system of sharply graduated taxation upon incomes of over \$5,000 a year, upon corporate profits and surpluses, as well as taxation upon the present tax-exempt securities and large gifts and inheritances. People of small income, small property, and home owners must be protected against foreclosures and seizures and from burdensome taxes and high interest rates.

We are unconditionally opposed to inflationary policies which bring catastrophe and ruin to the workers, farmers, and middle classes, and enrich the speculators.

We favor nationalization of the entire banking system.

## **VI. Defend and Extend Democratic Rights and Civil Liberties! Curb the Supreme Court!**

We support a Constitutional Amendment to put an end to the dictatorial and usurped powers of the Supreme Court. We demand further that Congress immediately reassert its Constitutional powers to enact social and labor legislation and to curb the Supreme Court usurpation.

We champion the unrestricted freedom of speech, press, radio and assembly and the right to organize and strike. We call upon the people to safeguard these traditional liberties.

We stand for federal legislation which will establish labor's full right to collective bargaining, which will outlaw the company unions, the spy and stool pigeon systems, and all other coercion by employers.

We demand heavy penalties and imprisonment for em-



employers guilty of discharging workers for union or political activities.

We demand the abolition of poll taxes and all other limitations on the right to vote.

We demand the release of political prisoners, among whom Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, and the Scottsboro Boys are but the outstanding examples.

The infamous policy of deportation of foreign-born workers must be stopped. The traditional American right of asylum for political refugees must be re-established. Anti-Semitic propaganda must be prohibited by law.

## VII. Full Rights for the Negro People

We demand that the Negro people be guaranteed complete equality, equal rights to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, vote, serve on juries, and hold public office. Segregation and discrimination against Negroes must be declared a crime. Heavy penalties must be established against mob rule, floggers, and kidnappers, with the *death penalty for lynchers*. We demand the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

## VIII. Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World!

We declare that peace must be maintained and defended at all costs. We declare in favor of strengthening all measures for collective security. We favor effective financial and eco-

conomic measures to this end by the League of Nations, against Hitler Germany, Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism. These measures should be supported by the United States government.

We consider the expenditure of billions for armaments and war preparations unnecessary and provocative, contributing to the danger of a new world war.

Instead of ever greater armaments, we believe that the United States should develop an American Peace Policy in close collaboration with the Soviet Union, based on complete prohibition of the sale or delivery of goods, or the granting of loans to nations engaged in a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Peace Pact. The huge funds now spent for armament should be turned to the support of the suffering people.

We demand the nationalization of the entire munitions industry.

We demand an end to American intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin-American countries and the Philippines.

We demand the strict non-recognition of the Japanese conquests in Manchuria and China, and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

We support the Puerto Rican demand for independence.

We support the complete independence and self-determination of all oppressed nations.

\* \* \*

This platform represents the life-needs of the majority of workers, farmers, and middle classes today. These demands

can be won even under the present capitalist system. This is being conclusively proved by the victories of the People's Front in France. We appeal to all members of the American Federation of Labor and farm organizations, to our comrades in the Socialist Party, to all who toil with hand or brain, Negro and white, to unite in a determined fight to achieve the demands of the people and to beat back the sinister forces of reaction.

The fight for those demands will organize and strengthen the people. It will give them deeper political experience and understanding. It will prepare them for the great decisions to come when it will be necessary to move forward to socialism.

Today the immediate issue is democracy or fascism. But the consistent fight for democracy in the conditions of declining capitalism will finally bring us to the necessary choice of the socialist path.

Our land is the richest in the world. It has the largest and most skilled working class. Everything is present to provide a rich and cultured life for the whole population. Yet millions starve. The whole nation suffers, because capitalism is breaking down, because profits are the first law and are put above human needs—and the capitalist rulers are turning to fascism and war.

The Communist Party prepares the people to bring an end to this crucifixion of humanity. Our economy must be taken from the incompetent and greedy hands of Wall Street. It must be made the common property of the whole people. It must be operated fully for the benefit of all who work. This



will be socialism. Only when socialism will be established, as today in the Soviet Union, will there be no crisis, no poverty, no unemployment—but abundance and security for all, with the gates of progress open to humanity.

Reactionaries of all shades cry out against socialism. They say it is revolutionary. True, the change to socialism will be revolutionary; but since when is revolution un-American? On the contrary, revolution is the proudest tradition of our people who have always been among the most revolutionary peoples of the world.

Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism. The Communist Party continues the traditions of 1776, of the birth of our country, of the revolutionary Lincoln, who led the historic struggle that preserved our nation. In the greater crisis of today only the Communist Party shows a way to a better life now, and to the future of peace, freedom, and security for all.

By supporting, working with, and voting for the Communist Party in the November elections; by organizing the mass production industries into powerful industrial unions, in a united American Federation of Labor, by independent political action and by building the American people's front—the Farmer-Labor Party—the toilers of America can best fight for the realization of their aims in 1936.

Forward to a progressive, free, prosperous, and happy America.

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*Support the*  
**COMMUNIST PARTY**  
**ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND!**

The Communist Party appeals to all progressive people to support its Presidential Campaign in the 1936 Elections. Help broadcast the program and platform of the Communist Party to millions through the radio, literature and campaign meetings. Every contribution strikes another blow against the menace of reaction and fascism in American life.

I enclose \$..... for the Communist Party State Election Campaign Fund, 121 Haight St., San Francisco or 224 So. Spring St., Los Angeles, Calif.

- ☐ I want to join  
☐ I want more information about

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

*Mail to*

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

121 Haight St.  
224 So. Spring St.

San Francisco, Calif.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Read the **DAILY WORKER** and **SUNDAY WORKER** for latest news of the 1936 Election Campaign and the Communist position on all current issues.

*Address:*

121 Haight St.

San Francisco, Calif.

# VOTE COMMUNIST!

## *Northern California:*

### CONGRESS

#### District

- 1st—Vernon D. Healy
- 3rd—Perry Hill
- 4th—Anita Whitney
- 5th—Lawrence Ross
- 6th—Lloyd L. Harris
- 9th—Carl B. Patterson

### ASSEMBLY

- 10th—Wm. J. Prater
- 13th—Joseph Studevant
- 17th—Leon Vannier
- 18th—Richard Ludlow
- 20th—Sam Jaye
- 22nd—Archie Brown
- 23rd—Alexander Noral
- 26th—Peter J. Garrison

## *Southern California* CONGRESS

#### District

- 11th—William Ingham
- 13th—Emma Cutler
- 14th—Harold J. Ashe
- 17th—John L. Leech
- 19th—Charles McLaughlan
- 20th—E. L. Richardson

### ASSEMBLY

- 42nd—Elizabeth K. Burgess
- 43rd—William E. Sherwood
- 46th—James A. Ayres
- 47th—Carl L. D. Echols
- 52nd—Herbert E. Elstein
- 54th—Albert A. Heltness
- 56th—Clifford J. Leckrone
- 57th—Emil Freed
- 60th—Lester W. Beck
- 61st—Floyd Solomon
- 62nd—Louis Rosser
- 67th—Ray H. Garner
- 69th—Thomas J. Cooney
- 80th—Bessie A. Keckler

## Browder-Ford Membership Drive

*September 7, 1936—January 1, 1937*

**JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY**  
**FOR A FREE, HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS AMERICA**

*Write Communist State Headquarters:*

121 Haight Street                      San Francisco, Calif.  
224 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

**READ THE WESTERN WORKER**

*Semi-weekly Communist Newspaper*

**Special Election Campaign Subscription: 15 issues—50 cents**



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Milwaukee, Wisc.

**Defend the Economic Rights and the Democratic Liberties of the  
People of Wisconsin! Unite in Action!**

## **VOTE THE FEDERATION TICKET !**

In order to organize the working people and their organizations in unity of action around the program of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, against political reaction and insecurity, the Communist Party of Wisconsin will not run its full slate of state and county candidates in the Wisconsin elections of 1936.

Instead we will give qualified support to the majority of the candidates of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation. We will help build the Federation into a mass people's party, into an anti-fascist Farmer-Labor Party, based upon and democratically controlled by the trade unions, farm and unemployed organizations, embracing all labor groups which support its principles.

Therefore we urge you—the workers, farmers, unemployed, youth, and all people of small incomes—to unite in struggle around the Federation program, to join the Federation and to vote the Federation ticket. By so doing, you will aid in beating back the forces and parties of reaction. You will help to defeat the reactionary program and policies of the Liberty League-Republicans—the Kohlers, Chappels, Brunettes and Wileys, as well as the anti-labor Democrats—the Luecks, Cannons and Schmedemans.

At the same time we appeal to the members and supporters of the Federation, and to all toilers, to vote and support the Communist Presidential ticket and program. A vote for the Communist candidates, **EARL BROWDER** and **JAMES W. FORD**, will be a vote to achieve the Federation program on a national scale and for building a national Farmer-Labor Party. To vote and support the Communist Presidential ticket is the best means of winning the urgent demands of the working people now and of advancing the movement for a free, happy and prosperous America—for socialism.

**Build the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation!**

**Vote the Communist Presidential Ticket!**

State Committee, COMMUNIST PARTY OF WISCONSIN  
113 East Wells St., Milwaukee